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responsible than Isabella; for, while he believes that vigorous lady to have been a queen in fact as well as in name, he has been led to the conviction that her share in the administration of her kingdom has been greatly exaggerated, and points out (p. 27) that "In the copious royal correspondence with the officials of the Inquisition the name of Isabella rarely appears. To those in Castile as in Aragon Ferdinand mostly writes in the first person singular."

In the second book, that on the Inquisition's relations with the State, the five chapters treat successively its relation with the Crown, its "super-eminence", its privileges and exemptions, the conflicting jurisdictions which vexed it, and the popular hostility from which it always suffered—a hostility which, as Mr. Lea hastens to assure us, was in no wise due to its religious persecution, but only to "its abuse of its privileges in matters wholly apart from its functions as the guardian of the faith" (p. 539). Appended to the volume are useful lists of the inquisitorial tribunals and of the Inquisitors-General, a brief essay on Spanish coinage which will be of service to many besides the students of the Inquisition, and nearly a score of precious documents hitherto unpublished.

In style and treatment the book shows to the full the qualities so long familiar in Mr. Lea's work—the same wealth of detail, the same direct dependence on the sources, the same avoidance of polemics and of all rhetorical amplification. It is everywhere the work of one who still believes that the history of jurisprudence is the history of civilization. And if, as usual, he seldom stops to moralize, the moral which he long ago told us no serious historical work should lack is none the less clear in all he shows us of the daily operation of a tribunal of which, as he suggests in his preface, "the real importance is to be sought, not so much in the awful solemnities of the *auto de fe*, or in the cases of a few celebrated victims, as in the silent influence exercised by its incessant and secret labors among the mass of the people and in the limitations which it placed on the Spanish intellect—in the resolute conservatism with which it held the nation in the medieval groove and unfitted it for the exercise of rational liberty when the nineteenth century brought in the inevitable Revolution."

GEORGE L. BURR.

Mary Queen of Scots, her Environment and Tragedy: a Biography.

By T. F. HENDERSON. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Two vols., pp. xii, 353; viii, 355–690.)

MR. HENDERSON has added this contribution to Marian literature because he believes that recent monographs and concise biographies render a work desirable which deals in a somewhat detailed and critical fashion with the main episodes in her entire career. He writes with especial reference to the publications of Fleming, Pollen, Lang, and Hume, and his book is both a narrative biography and a critical study.

The results of much destructive criticism are stated in positive form without discussion; individual errors of his predecessors are criticized; the crises in Mary's career are plainly stated; and a logical theory of the fundamental causes of her failure is developed with unusual force and rigidity. Some fresh material is produced, but the author's positive contribution to the facts of the subject is comparatively slight, confined mainly to matters of detail in the critical portions of the work.

The value of the book lies chiefly in its clear presentation of general conditions underlying the crises of Mary's career and particularly of the influence of foreign affairs upon their shaping and development. Among the best features are the following: the detailed examination of relations between England and Scotland prior to Mary's departure for France; the unusually good description of the matrimonial negotiations of 1563-1564 and their interrelations; a fine discussion of the interplay of forces leading to Riccio's murder; while the chapter on the early relations of Elizabeth and Mary in Scotland is perhaps the best in the book. Here Father Pollen's monographs have been of marked assistance, especially in regard to the succession and Mary's religious policy. Froude, Fleming, and Lang maintain that fear of assassination was the chief cause of Elizabeth's refusal in 1561 to acknowledge Mary as her successor; Henderson, independently occupying the same ground as Pollen in his interpretation of the celebrated phrase about the "winding-sheet" (I. 195), maintains with apparent justice that the argument is an anachronism. Mr. Henderson also throws new light upon an obscure point in connection with Huntly's overthrow and solves Lang's puzzle (*History of Scotland*, II. 102-103) concerning the supposititious presence of Lord James Stuart at Nancy.

The critical apparatus is defective. References are not always correct and often fail to cover all the points at issue. Erroneous dates appear far too frequently. Twice, at least, Fleming's position is inaccurately stated (I. 172, 256). And Henderson asserts (I. 346) that, among other reasons why Elizabeth could have settled the succession upon Mary without danger, "Mary was illegally debarred from it."

Henderson's fundamental theory as to Mary's failure is diametrically opposed to Hume's theory of ruin caused by personal passion and is essentially the same as Lang's, with personal reasons minimized and with greater rigidity. Mary was the predestined victim of a bitter religious quarrel. The difficulty of her task—in itself all but impossible—was so aggravated by accidental circumstances that a chance was hardly left of escape from signal calamity. "The processes which determined her life toward its tragic close seemed ever to go on with the regularity of clock-work." "Her imperfections and mistakes become dwarfed into insignificance as the determining causes of her failure, by reason of the ascendant influence in her life of what may be termed fate."

The fate theory, thus stated, requires an affirmative answer to each of four questions. First, was Mary justified in refusing Elizabeth's offer

of an interview, made through D'Oysell in 1561, on condition that Mary should ratify the treaty of Edinburgh? Lang maintains that she "threw away this admirable chance of settling the feud"; Henderson argues strongly, perhaps convincingly, to the contrary. It is their most important disagreement—although Henderson's unusually favorable view of Maitland diverges widely from Lang's, and his absolute belief in Mary's guilt and the authenticity of the Glasgow Letter leads him to subject Lang's theories to a searching examination in an appendix. Second, was the Darnley marriage inevitable? On this crucial point Henderson and Hume are at variance, the former maintaining that Mary was never in love with Darnley and that passion did not supersede ambition as a motive-force until after Riccio's murder, when political exigencies, combined with an irresistible reaction from hopes irretrievably ruined, threw her into Bothwell's arms. Hume's argument (*The Love Affairs of Mary Queen of Scots*, 225–226) is the more convincing, and, if true, makes Mary the wilful architect of her own ruin by voluntarily accepting a chance. Third, was Mary's Catholicizing policy after the Chase-About Raid forced upon her? Could Maitland's policy have been successful? If not, would Mary have necessarily lost more than the gratification of her English ambitions? Fourth, was the Bothwell marriage necessitated? Henderson does not prove it, and Hume's argument (*op. cit.*, 7–9), that Mary's ultimate ruin was caused rather by the permanence given Bothwell's power than by her mere complicity in Darnley's murder, is very cogent.

The illustrations in the book are notable for the completeness of their range, rather than for their artistic value. Individually they are excelled in this respect by the illustrations in Lang's *The Mystery of Mary Stuart* and in the Goupil edition of Sir John Skelton's *Mary Stuart*. In at least two instances—Knox, from Beza's *Icones*: and Mary, from the picture in the possession of the Earl of Morton—Henderson has assigned them to wrong originals.

O. H. RICHARDSON.

Scotland and the Union: a History of Scotland from 1695 to 1747.

By WILLIAM LAW MATHIESON. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1905. Pp. xiii, 387.)

THE present volume is designed as "a continuation, on a broader and more comprehensive plan", of Mr. Mathieson's *Politics and Religion*, published in 1902. Strictly speaking, however, it is not a comprehensive history of Scotland during the period covered. The whole treatment centres about the Union, with the main emphasis on its political aspects. Industrial and religious questions are dealt with only so far as they relate to the main theme. Yet, although the author regards the material side of the subject as the more important, and devotes nearly three-quarters of his space to it, his chapters on the church constitute his most novel and interesting contribution.